# Avoiding Diversionary Targets

# Appendix

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This Appendix contains the results of the additional analyses and robustness checks for the article "Avoiding Diversionary Targets."

**List of Tables**

# Table I. Analysis on Split Samples for Autocratic Leaders

| | Target equations | | | | | | Loss of office equations | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Reduced-form equation Model 1 | | | Structural equation Model 2 | | | Reduced-form equation Model 3 | | | Structural equation Model 4 | | |
| Variables | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value |
| Risk of losing office | --- | --- | --- | -0.629 | 0.696 | 0.366 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Risk of being a target | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 0.161 | 0.351 | 0.646 |
| Civil war | 0.326 | 0.160 | 0.041 | 0.742 | 0.406 | 0.068 | 0.576 | 0.125 | 0.000 | 0.521 | 0.151 | 0.001 |
| Economic development (log) | 0.001 | 0.031 | 0.968 | 0.019 | 0.043 | 0.655 | 0.016 | 0.021 | 0.445 | 0.021 | 0.021 | 0.328 |
| Change in econ. development | -0.001 | 0.001 | 0.470 | -0.002 | 0.002 | 0.204 | -0.001 | 0.001 | 0.507 | -0.001 | 0.001 | 0.537 |
| Trade opennes (log) | 0.011 | 0.040 | 0.781 | 0.023 | 0.077 | 0.769 | 0.050 | 0.029 | 0.088 | 0.049 | 0.030 | 0.100 |
| Change in trade openness | -0.001 | 0.001 | 0.327 | -0.002 | 0.002 | 0.193 | -0.001 | 0.001 | 0.396 | -0.001 | 0.001 | 0.505 |
| Total population (log) | 0.011 | 0.042 | 0.790 | 0.056 | 0.049 | 0.258 | -0.041 | 0.037 | 0.264 | -0.024 | 0.036 | 0.497 |
| National capabilities (CINC) | 3.149 | 6.095 | 0.605 | 6.021 | 5.884 | 0.306 | 2.292 | 4.734 | 0.628 | -3.700 | 2.710 | 0.172 |
| Median duration in office | -0.018 | 0.013 | 0.163 | --- | --- | --- | -0.029 | 0.008 | 0.000 | -0.026 | 0.010 | 0.010 |
| Major power | -0.723 | 0.922 | 0.433 | -1.031 | 1.023 | 0.314 | -1.005 | 0.511 | 0.049 | --- | --- | --- |
| Military mobilization | -0.021 | 0.033 | 0.522 | -0.008 | 0.065 | 0.898 | 0.002 | 0.015 | 0.888 | --- | --- | --- |
| Number of borders | -0.025 | 0.026 | 0.335 | 0.006 | 0.030 | 0.835 | 0.018 | 0.020 | 0.378 | --- | --- | --- |
| Days since last target (log) | 0.082 | 0.050 | 0.097 | -0.110 | 0.066 | 0.096 | 0.022 | 0.041 | 0.592 | --- | --- | --- |
| Ongoing crisis | -1.281 | 0.248 | 0.000 | -0.678 | 0.735 | 0.356 | -0.531 | 0.232 | 0.022 | -0.324 | 0.483 | 0.503 |
| Victory | 2.225 | 0.231 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | -0.659 | 0.278 | 0.018 | -1.034 | 0.782 | 0.186 |
| Defeat | 1.215 | 0.197 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | 0.782 | 0.167 | 0.000 | 0.584 | 0.451 | 0.195 |
| Draw | 1.417 | 0.194 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | -0.399 | 0.230 | 0.082 | -0.645 | 0.506 | 0.202 |
| Age | 0.001 | 0.004 | 0.788 | --- | --- | --- | 0.016 | 0.003 | 0.000 | 0.015 | 0.004 | 0.000 |
| Days in office (log) | -0.073 | 0.053 | 0.170 | -0.149 | 0.210 | 0.479 | -0.264 | 0.036 | 0.000 | -0.252 | 0.043 | 0.000 |
| Beyond median duration | -0.049 | 0.165 | 0.769 | 0.312 | 0.458 | 0.495 | 0.306 | 0.112 | 0.006 | 0.309 | 0.117 | 0.008 |
| Previous times in office | 0.231 | 0.109 | 0.034 | 0.348 | 0.130 | 0.008 | -0.041 | 0.132 | 0.759 | -0.079 | 0.165 | 0.632 |
| Constant | -2.421 | 0.636 | 0.000 | -1.497 | 0.671 | 0.026 | -0.237 | 0.424 | 0.576 | 0.179 | 0.782 | 0.819 |
| Number of observations | 3099 | | | 3099 | | | 3099 | | | 3099 | | |
| Log-likelihood | -357.6 | | | -484.81 | | | -754.52 | | | -755.8 | | |
| McKelvey-Zavoina | 0.310 | | | 0.217 | | | 0.350 | | | 0.346 | | |
| McFadden | 0.313 | | | 0.069 | | | 0.117 | | | 0.115 | | |
| Estrella | 0.119 | | | 0.024 | | | 0.066 | | | 0.065 | | |

Standard errors are corrected to account for the two-step estimation (Maddala, 1983: 246-247), and are clustered by leader

**Table II. Analysis on Split Samples for Mixed Regime Leaders**

| | Target equations | | | | | | Loss of office equations | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Reduced-form equation Model 1 | | | Structural equation Model 2 | | | Reduced-form equation Model 3 | | | Structural equation Model 4 | | |
| Variables | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value |
| Risk of losing office | --- | --- | --- | -1.030 | 0.588 | 0.080 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Risk of being a target | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | -0.005 | 0.184 | 0.976 |
| Civil war | 0.356 | 0.136 | 0.009 | 0.762 | 0.239 | 0.001 | 0.328 | 0.085 | 0.000 | 0.323 | 0.110 | 0.003 |
| Economic development (log) | 0.018 | 0.039 | 0.642 | 0.008 | 0.055 | 0.886 | -0.004 | 0.017 | 0.815 | -0.002 | 0.016 | 0.900 |
| Change in econ. development | 2.3E-04 | 0.002 | 0.904 | -0.002 | 0.003 | 0.494 | -0.002 | 0.001 | 0.039 | -0.002 | 0.001 | 0.033 |
| Trade openness (log) | 0.053 | 0.046 | 0.252 | -0.014 | 0.057 | 0.802 | -0.011 | 0.020 | 0.584 | -0.010 | 0.022 | 0.663 |
| Change in trade openness | 0.001 | 0.002 | 0.568 | -0.001 | 0.003 | 0.614 | -0.002 | 0.001 | 0.027 | -0.002 | 0.001 | 0.027 |
| Total population (log) | 0.067 | 0.052 | 0.192 | -0.010 | 0.084 | 0.909 | -0.033 | 0.026 | 0.208 | -0.030 | 0.030 | 0.313 |
| National capabilities (CINC) | -0.529 | 2.725 | 0.846 | 7.112 | 4.369 | 0.104 | 2.138 | 1.381 | 0.122 | 3.377 | 1.270 | 0.008 |
| Median duration in office | 0.008 | 0.014 | 0.562 | --- | --- | --- | -0.061 | 0.011 | 0.000 | -0.064 | 0.012 | 0.000 |
| Major power | -0.538 | 0.360 | 0.135 | 0.082 | 0.486 | 0.865 | 0.216 | 0.146 | 0.139 | --- | --- | --- |
| Military mobilization | -0.252 | 0.205 | 0.219 | -0.082 | 0.206 | 0.689 | -0.066 | 0.074 | 0.377 | --- | --- | --- |
| Number of borders | 0.028 | 0.023 | 0.230 | 0.020 | 0.031 | 0.518 | 0.006 | 0.012 | 0.639 | --- | --- | --- |
| Days since last target (log) | -0.046 | 0.062 | 0.453 | -0.186 | 0.127 | 0.143 | -0.014 | 0.029 | 0.629 | --- | --- | --- |
| Ongoing crisis | -1.825 | 0.438 | 0.000 | -0.771 | 0.359 | 0.032 | -0.220 | 0.156 | 0.159 | -0.220 | 0.383 | 0.566 |
| Victory | 2.341 | 0.313 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | 0.012 | 0.003 | 0.000 | -0.580 | 0.501 | 0.247 |
| Defeat | 1.660 | 0.279 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | -0.622 | 0.300 | 0.038 | 0.353 | 0.380 | 0.353 |
| Draw | 2.069 | 0.199 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | 0.341 | 0.203 | 0.093 | -0.408 | 0.445 | 0.360 |
| Age | -2.3E-04 | 0.005 | 0.961 | --- | --- | --- | -0.454 | 0.183 | 0.013 | 0.012 | 0.003 | 0.000 |
| Days in office (log) | -0.067 | 0.049 | 0.176 | -0.311 | 0.226 | 0.170 | -0.252 | 0.028 | 0.000 | -0.255 | 0.029 | 0.000 |
| Beyond median duration | -0.027 | 0.147 | 0.854 | 0.933 | 0.546 | 0.087 | 0.625 | 0.083 | 0.000 | 0.624 | 0.084 | 0.000 |
| Previous times in office | 0.153 | 0.090 | 0.088 | -0.044 | 0.139 | 0.751 | -0.245 | 0.061 | 0.000 | -0.243 | 0.068 | 0.000 |
| Constant | -2.235 | 0.687 | 0.001 | 0.185 | 0.951 | 0.845 | 0.493 | 0.368 | 0.180 | 0.375 | 0.579 | 0.518 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Number of observations | 3011 | | | 3011 | | | 3011 | | | 3011 | | |
| Log-likelihood | -293.7 | | | -388.26 | | | -1356.8 | | | -1358.2 | | |
| McKelvey-Zavoina | 0.310 | | | 0.237 | | | 0.429 | | | 0.430 | | |
| McFadden | 0.325 | | | 0.108 | | | 0.107 | | | 0.107 | | |
| Estrella | 0.108 | | | 0.033 | | | 0.108 | | | 0.108 | | |

Standard errors are corrected to account for the two-step estimation (Maddala, 1983: 246-247), and are clustered by leader.

# Table III. Analysis on Split Samples for Democratic Leaders

| | Target equations | | | | | | Loss of office equations | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Reduced-form equation Model 1 | | | Structural equation Model 2 | | | Reduced-form equation Model 3 | | | Structural equation Model 4 | | |
| Variables | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value |
| Risk of losing office | --- | --- | --- | -0.962 | 0.355 | 0.007 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Risk of being a target | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 0.388 | 0.207 | 0.061 |
| Civil war | 0.283 | 0.266 | 0.287 | 0.233 | 0.264 | 0.377 | 0.141 | 0.123 | 0.253 | 0.066 | 0.155 | 0.669 |
| Economic development (log) | -0.019 | 0.041 | 0.639 | -0.045 | 0.049 | 0.356 | -0.064 | 0.019 | 0.001 | -0.057 | 0.025 | 0.020 |
| Change in econ. development | -3.4E-04 | 0.002 | 0.886 | -0.004 | 0.003 | 0.204 | -0.002 | 0.001 | 0.144 | -0.002 | 0.002 | 0.295 |
| Trade opennes (log) | -0.054 | 0.045 | 0.232 | -0.036 | 0.065 | 0.579 | -0.056 | 0.019 | 0.004 | -0.037 | 0.026 | 0.144 |
| Change in trade openness | -0.002 | 0.002 | 0.324 | -0.003 | 0.002 | 0.243 | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.730 | 0.000 | 0.002 | 0.781 |
| Total population (log) | 0.020 | 0.041 | 0.617 | 0.090 | 0.068 | 0.185 | -0.069 | 0.021 | 0.001 | -0.063 | 0.027 | 0.019 |
| National capabilities (CINC) | 0.568 | 1.993 | 0.776 | -0.016 | 2.079 | 0.994 | -0.576 | 1.001 | 0.565 | -0.825 | 1.225 | 0.501 |
| Median duration in office | -0.019 | 0.024 | 0.413 | --- | --- | --- | -0.113 | 0.021 | 0.000 | -0.112 | 0.031 | 0.000 |
| Major power | 0.571 | 0.180 | 0.002 | 0.773 | 0.194 | 0.000 | 0.262 | 0.109 | 0.017 | --- | --- | --- |
| Military mobilization | 0.110 | 0.078 | 0.156 | 0.179 | 0.142 | 0.207 | 0.053 | 0.045 | 0.235 | --- | --- | --- |
| Number of borders | -0.018 | 0.030 | 0.531 | 0.047 | 0.033 | 0.157 | 0.019 | 0.013 | 0.126 | --- | --- | --- |
| Days since last target (log) | 0.012 | 0.059 | 0.836 | -0.262 | 0.088 | 0.003 | -0.006 | 0.026 | 0.831 | --- | --- | --- |
| Ongoing crisis | -2.161 | 0.303 | 0.000 | -0.963 | 0.344 | 0.005 | 0.064 | 0.158 | 0.685 | 0.899 | 0.482 | 0.062 |
| Victory | 2.470 | 0.259 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | -0.317 | 0.165 | 0.055 | -1.239 | 0.544 | 0.023 |
| Defeat | 1.691 | 0.330 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | 0.127 | 0.231 | 0.582 | -0.491 | 0.431 | 0.254 |
| Draw | 1.994 | 0.227 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | -0.320 | 0.171 | 0.062 | -1.052 | 0.481 | 0.029 |
| Age | 0.002 | 0.006 | 0.757 | --- | --- | --- | 0.008 | 0.003 | 0.002 | 0.008 | 0.004 | 0.037 |
| Days in office (log) | -0.052 | 0.058 | 0.376 | -0.164 | 0.118 | 0.163 | -0.173 | 0.029 | 0.000 | -0.158 | 0.041 | 0.000 |
| Beyond median duration | -0.059 | 0.136 | 0.663 | 0.942 | 0.423 | 0.026 | 0.688 | 0.079 | 0.000 | 0.719 | 0.113 | 0.000 |
| Previous times in office | 0.120 | 0.094 | 0.201 | 0.160 | 0.090 | 0.075 | -0.023 | 0.042 | 0.589 | -0.066 | 0.062 | 0.286 |
| Constant | -2.475 | 0.760 | 0.001 | -0.956 | 1.270 | 0.452 | 0.544 | 0.336 | 0.105 | 1.413 | 0.670 | 0.035 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Number of observations | 3196 | | | 3196 | | | 3196 | | | 3196 | | |
| Log-likelihood | -293.0 | | | -441.15 | | | -1635.6 | | | -1637.9 | | |
| McKelvey-Zavoina | 0.384 | | | 0.325 | | | 0.438 | | | 0.440 | | |
| McFadden | 0.479 | | | 0.216 | | | 0.100 | | | 0.099 | | |
| Estrella | 0.205 | | | 0.082 | | | 0.113 | | | 0.112 | | |

Standard errors are corrected to account for the two-step estimation (Maddala, 1983: 246-247), and are clustered by leader.

**Table IV. Analysis on Split Samples for Leaders of Parliamentary Democracies**

| | Target equations | | | | | | Loss of office equations | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Reduced-form equation Model 1 | | | Structural equation Model 2 | | | Reduced-form equation Model 3 | | | Structural equation Model 4 | | |
| Variables | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value |
| Risk of losing office | --- | --- | --- | -1.590 | 0.872 | 0.068 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Risk of being a target | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 0.704 | 0.330 | 0.033 |
| Civil war | 0.729 | 0.380 | 0.055 | 0.958 | 0.586 | 0.102 | 0.340 | 0.183 | 0.064 | -0.126 | 0.319 | 0.692 |
| Economic development (log) | 0.020 | 0.060 | 0.744 | -0.069 | 0.151 | 0.650 | -0.046 | 0.030 | 0.126 | -0.076 | 0.071 | 0.284 |
| Change in econ. development | 0.002 | 0.004 | 0.674 | -0.007 | 0.018 | 0.718 | -0.003 | 0.002 | 0.096 | -0.004 | 0.003 | 0.278 |
| Trade opennes (log) | -0.111 | 0.074 | 0.132 | -0.150 | 0.187 | 0.424 | -0.053 | 0.025 | 0.035 | 0.007 | 0.051 | 0.894 |
| Change in trade openness | -0.002 | 0.003 | 0.555 | -0.005 | 0.005 | 0.362 | -0.001 | 0.001 | 0.379 | 0.000 | 0.003 | 0.929 |
| Total population (log) | -0.017 | 0.055 | 0.751 | 0.073 | 0.187 | 0.695 | -0.035 | 0.031 | 0.261 | -0.034 | 0.053 | 0.521 |
| National capabilities (CINC) | 0.763 | 4.833 | 0.875 | -8.093 | 14.059 | 0.565 | -4.127 | 2.660 | 0.121 | -2.375 | 3.470 | 0.494 |
| Median duration in office | 0.043 | 0.040 | 0.280 | --- | --- | --- | -0.134 | 0.039 | 0.001 | -0.178 | 0.097 | 0.065 |
| Major power | 0.530 | 0.236 | 0.025 | 1.334 | 0.481 | 0.006 | 0.501 | 0.136 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- |
| Military mobilization | 0.149 | 0.127 | 0.238 | 0.375 | 1.034 | 0.717 | 0.123 | 0.062 | 0.048 | --- | --- | --- |
| Number of borders | -0.001 | 0.034 | 0.974 | 0.085 | 0.075 | 0.257 | 0.017 | 0.015 | 0.274 | --- | --- | --- |
| Days since last target (log) | 0.062 | 0.077 | 0.418 | -0.301 | 0.219 | 0.169 | -0.044 | 0.035 | 0.214 | --- | --- | --- |
| Ongoing crisis | -2.434 | 0.381 | 0.000 | -1.209 | 0.798 | 0.130 | -0.126 | 0.186 | 0.499 | 1.692 | 0.780 | 0.030 |
| Victory | 2.691 | 0.374 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | -0.279 | 0.212 | 0.188 | -2.057 | 0.912 | 0.024 |
| Defeat | 1.766 | 0.424 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | -0.042 | 0.243 | 0.862 | -1.205 | 0.690 | 0.081 |
| Draw | 2.309 | 0.290 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | -0.322 | 0.205 | 0.116 | -1.830 | 0.863 | 0.034 |
| Age | 0.005 | 0.008 | 0.542 | --- | --- | --- | 0.011 | 0.003 | 0.001 | 0.007 | 0.006 | 0.223 |
| Days in office (log) | -0.077 | 0.072 | 0.285 | -0.145 | 0.151 | 0.337 | -0.088 | 0.036 | 0.015 | -0.045 | 0.077 | 0.557 |
| Beyond median duration | 0.003 | 0.177 | 0.988 | 1.014 | 0.520 | 0.051 | 0.347 | 0.095 | 0.000 | 0.343 | 0.201 | 0.088 |
| Previous times in office | 0.110 | 0.108 | 0.309 | 0.090 | 0.165 | 0.584 | -0.065 | 0.046 | 0.155 | -0.142 | 0.092 | 0.124 |
| Constant | -2.895 | 1.068 | 0.007 | -1.213 | 3.165 | 0.702 | 0.123 | 0.473 | 0.794 | 1.678 | 1.079 | 0.120 |
| Number of observations | 2024 | | | 2024 | | | 2024 | | | 2024 | | |
| Log-likelihood | -180.0 | | | -275.77 | | | -1086.5 | | | -1091.8 | | |
| McKelvey-Zavoina | 0.390 | | | 0.326 | | | 0.410 | | | 0.409 | | |
| McFadden | 0.480 | | | 0.204 | | | 0.071 | | | 0.067 | | |
| Estrella | 0.201 | | | 0.075 | | | 0.082 | | | 0.077 | | |

Standard errors are corrected to account for the two-step estimation (Maddala, 1983: 246-247), and are clustered by leader.

**Table V. Analysis on Split Samples for Leaders of Presidential Democracies**

| | Target equations | | | | | | Loss of office equations | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Reduced-form equation Model 1 | | | Structural equation Model 2 | | | Reduced-form equation Model 3 | | | Structural equation Model 4 | | |
| Variables | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value |
| Risk of losing office | --- | --- | --- | -0.185 | 0.701 | 0.792 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Risk of being a target | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | -0.494 | 0.320 | 0.123 |
| Civil war | -0.510 | 0.395 | 0.197 | -0.414 | 0.436 | 0.342 | -0.075 | 0.201 | 0.708 | -0.321 | 0.393 | 0.414 |
| Economic development (log) | -0.123 | 0.069 | 0.073 | -0.080 | 0.078 | 0.308 | -0.070 | 0.035 | 0.047 | -0.116 | 0.051 | 0.022 |
| Change in econ. development | -0.001 | 0.002 | 0.417 | -0.002 | 0.003 | 0.464 | 0.000 | 0.002 | 0.897 | -0.001 | 0.002 | 0.620 |
| Trade opennes (log) | -0.068 | 0.076 | 0.375 | 0.040 | 0.067 | 0.556 | -0.038 | 0.040 | 0.336 | -0.058 | 0.060 | 0.330 |
| Change in trade openness | -0.002 | 0.002 | 0.208 | -0.001 | 0.003 | 0.610 | 0.001 | 0.002 | 0.461 | -9E-05 | 0.002 | 0.967 |
| Total population (log) | 0.133 | 0.097 | 0.172 | 0.216 | 0.074 | 0.004 | -0.074 | 0.044 | 0.089 | 0.001 | 0.081 | 0.989 |
| National capabilities (CINC) | -1.509 | 2.995 | 0.614 | 0.663 | 2.810 | 0.813 | 2.707 | 1.591 | 0.089 | 2.004 | 1.648 | 0.224 |
| Median duration in office | -0.031 | 0.037 | 0.406 | --- | --- | --- | -0.080 | 0.022 | 0.000 | -0.099 | 0.036 | 0.005 |
| Major power | 1.108 | 0.441 | 0.012 | 0.736 | 0.420 | 0.080 | -0.463 | 0.261 | 0.077 | --- | --- | --- |
| Military mobilization | 0.005 | 0.044 | 0.907 | 0.005 | 0.090 | 0.952 | -0.009 | 0.041 | 0.827 | --- | --- | --- |
| Number of borders | -0.070 | 0.050 | 0.162 | -0.030 | 0.045 | 0.507 | 0.040 | 0.031 | 0.192 | --- | --- | --- |
| Days since last target (log) | 0.044 | 0.112 | 0.692 | -0.230 | 0.123 | 0.063 | 0.033 | 0.049 | 0.494 | --- | --- | --- |
| Ongoing crisis | -1.795 | 0.399 | 0.000 | -1.010 | 0.418 | 0.016 | 0.225 | 0.332 | 0.498 | -0.701 | 0.766 | 0.360 |
| Victory | 2.268 | 0.361 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | -0.324 | 0.282 | 0.252 | 0.727 | 0.803 | 0.365 |
| Defeat | 1.665 | 0.622 | 0.007 | --- | --- | --- | 0.722 | 0.437 | 0.099 | 1.475 | 1.153 | 0.201 |
| Draw | 1.488 | 0.411 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | -0.054 | 0.293 | 0.854 | 0.616 | 0.658 | 0.349 |
| Age | -0.009 | 0.012 | 0.447 | --- | --- | --- | 0.001 | 0.006 | 0.822 | -0.003 | 0.010 | 0.761 |
| Days in office (log) | -0.027 | 0.090 | 0.764 | 0.029 | 0.285 | 0.919 | -0.276 | 0.053 | 0.000 | -0.284 | 0.071 | 0.000 |
| Beyond median duration | -0.137 | 0.217 | 0.526 | 0.104 | 1.152 | 0.928 | 1.284 | 0.139 | 0.000 | 1.211 | 0.198 | 0.000 |
| Previous times in office | 0.057 | 0.193 | 0.766 | 0.012 | 0.296 | 0.968 | 0.143 | 0.092 | 0.122 | 0.171 | 0.134 | 0.203 |
| Constant | -3.087 | 1.450 | 0.033 | -2.401 | 1.018 | 0.018 | 0.852 | 0.592 | 0.150 | -0.276 | 1.219 | 0.821 |
| Number of observations | 1172 | | | 1172 | | | 1172 | | | 1172 | | |
| Log-likelihood | -103.7 | | | -152.5 | | | -514.5 | | | -515.3 | | |
| McKelvey-Zavoina | 0.429 | | | 0.354 | | | 0.507 | | | 0.506 | | |
| McFadden | 0.520 | | | 0.293 | | | 0.204 | | | 0.203 | | |
| Estrella | 0.237 | | | 0.120 | | | 0.223 | | | 0.222 | | |

Standard errors are corrected to account for the two-step estimation (Maddala, 1983: 246-247), and are clustered by leader.

**Table VI. Robustness Check Including Military Mobilization for the Loss of Office Equation**

| Variables | Target equations Reduced-form equation Model 1 b | se(b) | p-value | Target equations Structural equation Model 2 b | se(b) | p-value | Loss of office equations Reduced-form equation Model 3 b | se(b) | p-value | Loss of office equations Structural equation Model 4 b | se(b) | p-value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Risk of losing office | --- | --- | --- | -0.998 | 0.455 | 0.028 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Risk of being a target | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 0.016 | 0.204 | 0.937 |
| Mixed regime | 0.092 | 0.081 | 0.258 | 0.450 | 0.258 | 0.081 | 0.422 | 0.048 | 0.000 | 0.415 | 0.052 | 0.000 |
| Parliamentary democracy | 0.098 | 0.097 | 0.311 | 0.704 | 0.414 | 0.089 | 0.562 | 0.058 | 0.000 | 0.550 | 0.065 | 0.000 |
| Presidential democracy | 0.024 | 0.101 | 0.816 | 0.677 | 0.362 | 0.061 | 0.588 | 0.059 | 0.000 | 0.575 | 0.059 | 0.000 |
| Civil war | 0.343 | 0.100 | 0.001 | 0.703 | 0.191 | 0.000 | 0.327 | 0.062 | 0.000 | 0.317 | 0.089 | 0.000 |
| Economic development (log) | 0.003 | 0.020 | 0.884 | -0.020 | 0.031 | 0.522 | -0.020 | 0.010 | 0.049 | -0.021 | 0.010 | 0.028 |
| Change in econ. development | -3.9E-04 | 0.002 | 0.807 | -0.002 | 0.003 | 0.322 | -0.002 | 0.001 | 0.009 | -0.002 | 0.001 | 0.011 |
| Trade openness (log) | 0.014 | 0.025 | 0.563 | -0.028 | 0.034 | 0.406 | -0.024 | 0.012 | 0.045 | -0.026 | 0.012 | 0.027 |
| Change in trade openness | -3.2E-04 | 0.001 | 0.831 | -0.002 | 0.003 | 0.469 | -0.001 | 0.000 | 0.020 | -0.001 | 0.001 | 0.025 |
| Total population (log) | 0.035 | 0.025 | 0.157 | 0.052 | 0.033 | 0.114 | -0.037 | 0.014 | 0.011 | -0.031 | 0.014 | 0.025 |
| National capabilities (CINC) | 0.744 | 1.487 | 0.617 | 0.068 | 1.479 | 0.963 | -1.492 | 0.859 | 0.082 | -0.263 | 0.707 | 0.710 |
| Median duration in office | -0.011 | 0.010 | 0.242 | --- | --- | --- | -0.047 | 0.007 | 0.000 | -0.049 | 0.007 | 0.000 |
| Major power | 0.140 | 0.155 | 0.368 | 0.566 | 0.197 | 0.004 | 0.206 | 0.090 | 0.023 | --- | --- | --- |
| Military mobilization | 0.041 | 0.060 | 0.493 | 0.083 | 0.179 | 0.643 | 0.027 | 0.022 | 0.214 | 0.025 | 0.025 | 0.314 |
| Number of borders | -0.034 | 0.014 | 0.013 | 0.003 | 0.016 | 0.859 | 0.010 | 0.008 | 0.178 | --- | --- | --- |
| Days since last target (log) | -0.027 | 0.032 | 0.406 | -0.208 | 0.048 | 0.000 | -0.021 | 0.017 | 0.223 | --- | --- | --- |
| Ongoing crisis | -1.608 | 0.189 | 0.000 | -0.776 | 0.315 | 0.014 | -0.153 | 0.094 | 0.103 | -0.111 | 0.332 | 0.738 |
| Victory | 2.198 | 0.144 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | -0.393 | 0.122 | 0.001 | -0.375 | 0.476 | 0.431 |
| Defeat | 1.374 | 0.153 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | 0.397 | 0.112 | 0.000 | 0.398 | 0.303 | 0.189 |
| Draw | 1.686 | 0.117 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | -0.434 | 0.107 | 0.000 | -0.413 | 0.360 | 0.252 |
| Age | -3.4E-04 | 0.003 | 0.903 | --- | --- | --- | 0.012 | 0.002 | 0.000 | 0.012 | 0.002 | 0.000 |
| Days in office (log) | -0.049 | 0.029 | 0.096 | -0.260 | 0.142 | 0.068 | -0.253 | 0.018 | 0.000 | -0.259 | 0.020 | 0.000 |
| Beyond median duration | -0.041 | 0.081 | 0.613 | 0.895 | 0.419 | 0.033 | 0.639 | 0.050 | 0.000 | 0.645 | 0.052 | 0.000 |
| Previous times in office | 0.123 | 0.054 | 0.022 | 0.111 | 0.069 | 0.105 | -0.090 | 0.034 | 0.008 | -0.088 | 0.040 | 0.028 |
| Constant | -1.975 | 0.377 | 0.000 | -0.897 | 0.493 | 0.069 | 0.054 | 0.216 | 0.801 | -0.062 | 0.482 | 0.897 |
| Number of observations | 9306 | | | 9306 | | | 9306 | | | 9306 | | |
| Log-likelihood | -984.5 | | | -1331.3 | | | -3812.3 | | | -3817.0 | | |
| McKelvey-Zavoina | 0.314 | | | 0.254 | | | 0.447 | | | 0.448 | | |
| McFadden | 0.353 | | | 0.124 | | | 0.131 | | | 0.130 | | |
| Estrella | 0.132 | | | 0.043 | | | 0.124 | | | 0.123 | | |

Standard errors are corrected to account for the two-step estimation (Maddala, 1983: 246-247), and are clustered by leader.

### Table VII. Robustness Check Excluding Ongoing Crisis from the Loss of Office Equation

| | Target equations | | | | | | Loss of office equations | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Reduced-form equation Model 1 | | | Structural equation Model 2 | | | Reduced-form equation Model 3 | | | Structural equation Model 4 | | |
| Variables | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value | b | se(b) | p-value |
| Risk of losing office | --- | --- | --- | -0.998 | 0.455 | 0.028 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Risk of being a target | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 0.085 | 0.057 | 0.140 |
| Mixed regime | 0.092 | 0.081 | 0.258 | 0.450 | 0.258 | 0.081 | 0.422 | 0.048 | 0.000 | 0.407 | 0.048 | 0.000 |
| Parliamentary democracy | 0.098 | 0.097 | 0.311 | 0.704 | 0.414 | 0.089 | 0.562 | 0.058 | 0.000 | 0.540 | 0.057 | 0.000 |
| Presidential democracy | 0.024 | 0.101 | 0.816 | 0.677 | 0.362 | 0.061 | 0.588 | 0.059 | 0.000 | 0.572 | 0.059 | 0.000 |
| Civil war | 0.343 | 0.100 | 0.001 | 0.703 | 0.191 | 0.000 | 0.327 | 0.062 | 0.000 | 0.295 | 0.064 | 0.000 |
| Economic development (log) | 0.003 | 0.020 | 0.884 | -0.020 | 0.031 | 0.522 | -0.020 | 0.010 | 0.049 | -0.021 | 0.010 | 0.029 |
| Change in econ. development | -3.9E-04 | 0.002 | 0.807 | -0.002 | 0.003 | 0.322 | -0.002 | 0.001 | 0.009 | -0.002 | 0.001 | 0.011 |
| Trade openness (log) | 0.014 | 0.025 | 0.563 | -0.028 | 0.034 | 0.406 | -0.024 | 0.012 | 0.045 | -0.027 | 0.012 | 0.022 |
| Change in trade openness | -3.2E-04 | 0.001 | 0.831 | -0.002 | 0.003 | 0.469 | -0.001 | 0.000 | 0.020 | -0.001 | 0.001 | 0.029 |
| Total population (log) | 0.035 | 0.025 | 0.157 | 0.052 | 0.033 | 0.114 | -0.037 | 0.014 | 0.011 | -0.032 | 0.014 | 0.020 |
| National capabilities (CINC) | 0.744 | 1.487 | 0.617 | 0.068 | 1.479 | 0.963 | -1.492 | 0.859 | 0.082 | -0.367 | 0.642 | 0.567 |
| Median duration in office | -0.011 | 0.010 | 0.242 | --- | --- | --- | -0.047 | 0.007 | 0.000 | -0.048 | 0.007 | 0.000 |
| Major power | 0.140 | 0.155 | 0.368 | 0.566 | 0.197 | 0.004 | 0.206 | 0.090 | 0.023 | --- | --- | --- |
| Military mobilization | 0.041 | 0.060 | 0.493 | 0.083 | 0.179 | 0.643 | 0.027 | 0.022 | 0.214 | --- | --- | --- |
| Number of borders | -0.034 | 0.014 | 0.013 | 0.003 | 0.016 | 0.859 | 0.010 | 0.008 | 0.178 | --- | --- | --- |
| Days since last target (log) | -0.027 | 0.032 | 0.406 | -0.208 | 0.048 | 0.000 | -0.021 | 0.017 | 0.223 | --- | --- | --- |
| Ongoing crisis | -1.608 | 0.189 | 0.000 | -0.776 | 0.315 | 0.014 | -0.153 | 0.094 | 0.103 | --- | --- | --- |
| Victory | 2.198 | 0.144 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | -0.393 | 0.122 | 0.001 | -0.530 | 0.158 | 0.001 |
| Defeat | 1.374 | 0.153 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | 0.397 | 0.112 | 0.000 | 0.307 | 0.120 | 0.011 |
| Draw | 1.686 | 0.117 | 0.000 | --- | --- | --- | -0.434 | 0.107 | 0.000 | -0.528 | 0.132 | 0.000 |
| Age | -3.4E-04 | 0.003 | 0.903 | --- | --- | --- | 0.012 | 0.002 | 0.000 | 0.012 | 0.002 | 0.000 |
| Days in office (log) | -0.049 | 0.029 | 0.096 | -0.260 | 0.142 | 0.068 | -0.253 | 0.018 | 0.000 | -0.255 | 0.018 | 0.000 |
| Beyond median duration | -0.041 | 0.081 | 0.613 | 0.895 | 0.419 | 0.033 | 0.639 | 0.050 | 0.000 | 0.649 | 0.051 | 0.000 |
| Previous times in office | 0.123 | 0.054 | 0.022 | 0.111 | 0.069 | 0.105 | -0.090 | 0.034 | 0.008 | -0.096 | 0.035 | 0.006 |
| Constant | -1.975 | 0.377 | 0.000 | -0.897 | 0.493 | 0.069 | 0.054 | 0.216 | 0.801 | 0.090 | 0.222 | 0.684 |
| Number of observations | 9306 | | | 9306 | | | 9306 | | | 9306 | | |
| Log-likelihood | -984.5 | | | -1331.3 | | | -3812.3 | | | -3817.5 | | |
| McKelvey-Zavoina | 0.314 | | | 0.254 | | | 0.447 | | | 0.448 | | |
| McFadden | 0.353 | | | 0.124 | | | 0.131 | | | 0.129 | | |
| Estrella | 0.132 | | | 0.043 | | | 0.124 | | | 0.122 | | |

Standard errors are corrected to account for the two-step estimation (Maddala, 1983: 246-247), and are clustered by leader.

**Table VIII. Auxiliary OLS Regression for Economic Development**

| Variables | b | se(b) | p-value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mixed regime | -0.032 | 0.045 | 0.476 |
| Parliamentary democracy | 2.193 | 0.053 | 0.000 |
| Presidential democracy | 1.369 | 0.059 | 0.000 |
| Civil war | -0.293 | 0.068 | 0.000 |
| Change in econ. development | 0.003 | 0.001 | 0.000 |
| Trade opennes (log) | -0.904 | 0.009 | 0.000 |
| Change in trade openness | 0.005 | 0.001 | 0.000 |
| Total population (log) | -0.162 | 0.015 | 0.000 |
| National capabilities (CINC) | -5.580 | 0.881 | 0.000 |
| Major power | 0.811 | 0.103 | 0.000 |
| Military mobilization | 0.007 | 0.022 | 0.767 |
| Number of borders | 0.047 | 0.008 | 0.000 |
| Days since last target (log) | 0.420 | 0.017 | 0.000 |
| Ongoing crisis | 0.108 | 0.098 | 0.269 |
| Days in office (log) | 0.081 | 0.018 | 0.000 |
| Beyond median duration | -0.022 | 0.048 | 0.649 |
| Previous times in office | -0.226 | 0.038 | 0.000 |
| Age | 0.014 | 0.002 | 0.000 |
| Median duration in office | 0.074 | 0.004 | 0.000 |
| Victory | 0.475 | 0.112 | 0.000 |
| Defeat | -0.217 | 0.114 | 0.056 |
| Draw | 0.165 | 0.096 | 0.086 |
| Constant | -6.089 | 0.208 | 0.000 |
| Number of observations | 9306 | | |
| R2 | 0.660 | | |

**Table IX. Auxiliary OLS Regression for Change in Economic Development**

| Variables | b | se(b) | p-value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mixed regime | -2.584 | 0.761 | 0.001 |
| Parliamentary democracy | -4.035 | 0.985 | 0.000 |
| Presidential democracy | -3.272 | 1.043 | 0.002 |
| Civil war | -2.422 | 1.161 | 0.037 |
| Economic development (log) | 0.946 | 0.177 | 0.000 |
| Trade onnnes (log) | 1.350 | 0.219 | 0.000 |
| Change in trade openness | -0.681 | 0.005 | 0.000 |
| Total population (log) | 0.395 | 0.260 | 0.129 |
| National capabilities (CINC) | 17.538 | 15.078 | 0.245 |
| Major power | -2.447 | 1.767 | 0.166 |
| Military mobilization | -1.391 | 0.378 | 0.000 |
| Number of borders | -0.084 | 0.142 | 0.552 |
| Days since last target (log) | -1.346 | 0.304 | 0.000 |
| Ongoing crisis | -1.145 | 1.670 | 0.493 |
| Days in office (log) | 0.667 | 0.303 | 0.028 |
| Beyond median duration | -1.104 | 0.817 | 0.177 |
| Previous times in office | 1.754 | 0.654 | 0.007 |
| Age | -0.102 | 0.027 | 0.000 |
| Median duration in office | -0.063 | 0.077 | 0.414 |
| Victory | -2.832 | 1.918 | 0.140 |
| Defeat | -5.228 | 1.938 | 0.007 |
| Draw | 2.301 | 1.641 | 0.161 |
| Constant | 19.298 | 3.715 | 0.000 |
| | | | |
| Number of observations | 9306 | | |
| R2 | 0.649 | | |

**Table X. Auxiliary OLS Regression for Trade Openness**

| Variables | b | se(b) | p-value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mixed regime | 0.251 | 0.036 | 0.000 |
| Parliamentary democracy | 1.214 | 0.045 | 0.000 |
| Presidential democracy | 0.905 | 0.048 | 0.000 |
| Civil war | -0.104 | 0.055 | 0.058 |
| Economic development (log) | -0.590 | 0.006 | 0.000 |
| Change in econ. Development | 0.003 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Change in trade openness | 0.005 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Total population (log) | -0.341 | 0.012 | 0.000 |
| National capabilities (CINC) | -7.150 | 0.709 | 0.000 |
| Major power | 0.506 | 0.083 | 0.000 |
| Military mobilization | 0.011 | 0.018 | 0.535 |
| Number of borders | 0.006 | 0.007 | 0.373 |
| Days since last target (log) | 0.234 | 0.014 | 0.000 |
| Ongoing crisis | 0.076 | 0.079 | 0.335 |
| Days in office (log) | 0.034 | 0.014 | 0.016 |
| Beyond median duration | -0.002 | 0.039 | 0.960 |
| Previous times in office | -0.229 | 0.031 | 0.000 |
| Age | 0.011 | 0.001 | 0.000 |
| Median duration in office | 0.033 | 0.004 | 0.000 |
| Victory | 0.342 | 0.091 | 0.000 |
| Defeat | -0.327 | 0.092 | 0.000 |
| Draw | 0.095 | 0.078 | 0.221 |
| Constant | -1.485 | 0.175 | 0.000 |
| Number of observations | 9306 | | |
| R2 | 0.642 | | |

**Table XI. Auxiliary OLS Regression for Change in Trade Openness**

| Variables | b | se(b) | p-value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mixed regime | -2.773 | 0.897 | 0.002 |
| Parliamentary democracy | -4.233 | 1.161 | 0.000 |
| Presidential democracy | -3.315 | 1.230 | 0.007 |
| Civil war | -2.565 | 1.368 | 0.061 |
| Economic development (log) | 2.127 | 0.208 | 0.000 |
| Change in econ. Development | -0.946 | 0.007 | 0.000 |
| Trade openness (log) | 3.255 | 0.256 | 0.000 |
| Total population (log) | 1.647 | 0.306 | 0.000 |
| National capabilities (CINC) | 26.334 | 17.768 | 0.138 |
| Major power | -4.029 | 2.082 | 0.053 |
| Military mobilization | -1.008 | 0.446 | 0.024 |
| Number of borders | -0.062 | 0.167 | 0.709 |
| Days since last target (log) | -1.719 | 0.358 | 0.000 |
| Ongoing crisis | -1.000 | 1.968 | 0.611 |
| Days in office (log) | 0.933 | 0.357 | 0.009 |
| Beyond median duration | -1.804 | 0.963 | 0.061 |
| Previous times in office | 1.203 | 0.771 | 0.118 |
| Age | -0.094 | 0.032 | 0.003 |
| Median duration in office | -0.142 | 0.091 | 0.120 |
| Victory | -4.693 | 2.261 | 0.038 |
| Defeat | -2.680 | 2.285 | 0.241 |
| Draw | 1.761 | 1.933 | 0.362 |
| Constant | 11.486 | 4.383 | 0.009 |
| Number of observations | 9306 | | |
| R2 | 0.652 | | |

**Table XII. Auxiliary OLS Regression for Total Population**

| Variables | b | se(b) | p-value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mixed regime | 0.224 | 0.030 | 0.000 |
| Parliamentary democracy | 0.466 | 0.039 | 0.000 |
| Presidential democracy | -0.148 | 0.042 | 0.000 |
| Civil war | 0.656 | 0.046 | 0.000 |
| Economic development (log) | -0.075 | 0.007 | 0.000 |
| Change in econ. Development | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.129 |
| Trade openness (log) | -0.243 | 0.008 | 0.000 |
| Change in trade openness | 0.002 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| National capabilities (CINC) | 16.481 | 0.577 | 0.000 |
| Major power | 0.339 | 0.070 | 0.000 |
| Military mobilization | -0.004 | 0.015 | 0.770 |
| Number of borders | 0.165 | 0.005 | 0.000 |
| Days since last target (log) | 0.133 | 0.012 | 0.000 |
| Ongoing crisis | 0.027 | 0.067 | 0.680 |
| Days in office (log) | -0.036 | 0.012 | 0.003 |
| Beyond median duration | 0.045 | 0.033 | 0.172 |
| Previous times in office | -0.246 | 0.026 | 0.000 |
| Age | 0.018 | 0.001 | 0.000 |
| Median duration in office | -0.022 | 0.003 | 0.000 |
| Victory | 0.513 | 0.076 | 0.000 |
| Defeat | -0.087 | 0.077 | 0.260 |
| Draw | 0.318 | 0.065 | 0.000 |
| Constant | 6.045 | 0.135 | 0.000 |
| Number of observations | 9306 | | |
| R2 | 0.485 | | |

**Table XIII. Auxiliary OLS Regression for National Capabilities**

| Variables | b | se(b) | p-value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mixed regime | 0.224 | 0.030 | 0.000 |
| Parliamentary democracy | 0.466 | 0.039 | 0.000 |
| Presidential democracy | -0.148 | 0.042 | 0.000 |
| Civil war | 0.656 | 0.046 | 0.000 |
| Economic development (log) | -0.075 | 0.007 | 0.000 |
| Change in econ. Development | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.129 |
| Trade openness (log) | -0.243 | 0.008 | 0.000 |
| Change in trade openness | 0.002 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Total population | 16.481 | 0.577 | 0.000 |
| Major power | 0.339 | 0.070 | 0.000 |
| Military mobilization | -0.004 | 0.015 | 0.770 |
| Number of borders | 0.165 | 0.005 | 0.000 |
| Days since last target (log) | 0.133 | 0.012 | 0.000 |
| Ongoing crisis | 0.027 | 0.067 | 0.680 |
| Days in office (log) | -0.036 | 0.012 | 0.003 |
| Beyond median duration | 0.045 | 0.033 | 0.172 |
| Previous times in office | -0.246 | 0.026 | 0.000 |
| Age | 0.018 | 0.001 | 0.000 |
| Median duration in office | -0.022 | 0.003 | 0.000 |
| Victory | 0.513 | 0.076 | 0.000 |
| Defeat | -0.087 | 0.077 | 0.260 |
| Draw | 0.318 | 0.065 | 0.000 |
| Constant | 6.045 | 0.135 | 0.000 |
| Number of observations | 9306 | | |
| R2 | 0.606 | | |